

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

Big Talk — To Every Member of P.P.U. and Big Business

by WILFRED WELLOCK

THE state of the public mind today contrasts sharply with that of the opening stages of the war. Formerly it was characterized by a powerful idealism on behalf of liberty, democracy, and a new world; whereas now few people appear to have the heart or the inclination to discuss or even mention such things.

What is the reason for this phenomenal change? Is it disillusionment, or are the troubles and fears born of a long and fateful war as much as most people are prepared to carry?

I think the real reason is that mere words have lost their appeal. The national leaders still appear to be seeking telling phrases. These have risen to a crescendo, painfully like the crescendo of the last war which reached its climax in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, in 1918:

As the Lord liveth there is no conspiracy against Germany. We seek no colonies... The British Empire is finding its purpose in the great design of Providence on earth. We are fighting today not a war of conquest but a war of liberation.

We are being towed in a veritable sea of freedoms, and the competition is in the number that can be offered, and not, unfortunately, in the measures by which they are to be implemented.

All the political leaders of Britain and America—Churchill, Roosevelt, Lord Halifax, Winant, Eden, Sumner Welles, and others—are telling us that all our freedoms depend upon a military victory of the United Nations.

The outcome of the war will determine the future not only of democracy in national and local government, but also of all voluntary democratic groups within the State: said Mr. John G. Winant at the Co-operative Day Festival in the Empress Stadium, London, on July 4.

That statement cannot be defended. The fate of democracy and of voluntary democratic groups like the Co-operative movement will be determined by the world economic situation when hostilities cease: by the relative strength then of the economic and trading positions of the various countries, and the extent to which "national" policies are determined by private vested interests as against true democracy in Britain and the United States.

Important Silence

These are the vital issues; and on these issues all the responsible statesmen of Britain and the USA are silent.

(Our aim is) to build a society in which wealth shall not prey on commonwealth, nor culture degenerate into class or pride (Churchill).

We are fighting today for security and progress and for peace, not only for ourselves, but for all men, not only for one generation but for all generations (Roosevelt).

We are committed to the establishment of Service Democracy (Mr. Winant).

The peace of the common man will be an American peace (Vice-President Wallace).

But what do these grand phrases mean? What precise changes do they imply? We do not know, and the authors of them steadily refuse to tell us.

In the meantime the vested interests on both sides of the Atlantic are digging themselves in, and at every stage are relating war measures to the situation they imagine will exist when the war is over. Moreover, these interests are nowhere repudiated by the authors of the imposing phrases, but in various ways are supported by them.

In Britain the foundations of a corporate State, with Big Business in possession of the main economic and financial controls, are being laid, while the implications of international

economic co-operation contained in, say, the Atlantic Charter, are flatly repudiated by Big Business.

New World Methods

A better world, let alone a new world, must be founded on a new outlook, a new spirit, a new order of commercial relations. New trading methods must be based on a serious attempt to plan, however roughly at first, the world's economic life, its resources, its primary and secondary production, and its markets.

Even to move in that direction involves willingness to make a three-fold sacrifice: of national sovereignty, of imperial power, of class privilege and the social power which attends it.

But the cold fact is that one looks in vain for the first sign of readiness to make such sacrifices on the part of the vested interests, or of the political parties which embrace those interests and which in fact control governmental policy in the United States and in Britain.

The United States talks big about democracy and any number of freedoms, but nothing has emerged which suggests that more is intended by these promises than the removal of many trade barriers, and attempts to hold the vested interests in check by further "New Deals."

The "Service Democracy" of Mr.

Winant is presumably intended to fit in with the Fifth Right of the nine-point "bill of rights" which President Roosevelt sent to Congress in January of this year:

The Right To Live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labour, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies.

In the meantime the House of Representatives Committee has ignored the President's "austerity" suggestion of limiting incomes to 25,000 dollars, by voting taxation which permits many times that amount.

Another New Order

Also, let it be remembered, there is a new order arising on the American as well as on the European continent. Mr. Sumner Welles recently told the Cuban Chamber of Commerce, in New York:

There has now commenced a new period in world history, in which inter-American solidarity has become a real, living, and vital truth.

Then in Britain The Economist (June 6) declared:

In the report of the FBI (Federation of British Industries), the principles of the Atlantic Charter and of the freer trade movement which has found its spokesmen in the USA are flatly repudiated.

The Manchester Guardian, dealing with this report, quotes as follows:

It is easy, says the report, to talk of Anglo-American co-operation, but we must be realistic and face the difficulties. After the war we should not be in the same favourable position as in the past. Instead of being a creditor we shall be a debtor nation to an unknown extent, in view of the implications of "lease-lend."

Our ability to render services may, for the time being, have been reduced. The stability of our currency and foreign exchange situation will be in danger.

Lord Derby said in Liverpool recently: "I am not in favour of elaborate planning for the future," and to Rossall School a short time ago:

(Continued on page 2)

The Bishop of Chichester on the

PROBLEM of EUROPE

The Bishop of Chichester has lately returned from a month's stay in Sweden. In the July issue of the Chichester Diocesan Gazette, he gives the following account of Swedish sentiment towards Germany and Russia.

DEEP as is the feeling against the Nazi tyranny, I could not fail to be impressed that deeper still was the Swedes' fear of Russia. Everywhere I went, in every conference, large or small, and in practically every conversation, I was asked whether England realised "Russia's designs against Finland and the Baltic States," and the grave danger which (in their opinion) Russia constituted to the world.

The Swedes understand the military alliance between England and Russia as a necessity due to conflict with the arch-enemy, Hitler. They could not understand sympathy with the Soviet regime as such, nor how Lord Lang, as Archbishop of Canterbury, could have called English people to pray for the Soviet forces.

Nor, try as I might to deal with their difficulties and questions, could I get to the real root of their fears. The Swedes' view is that the British live far away from Russia, and simply cannot bring themselves into the position of Swedes living on Russia's borders, and faced with the experience not only of centuries of dealing with their traditional foe, but of recent events in Finland and Estonia, with the undeniable cruelty and inhuman treatment meted out to many thousands of harmless people, and the relentless antagonism to Christianity as shown in the Russian treat-

ment of Catholic and Orthodox congregations and clergy.

A FACT TO BE FACED

The Swedes do not in the least deny the Nazi atrocities in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and many other places in Europe. But time after time they return to the Bolsheviks' conduct in the Baltic States and Finland, especially between the two wars.

I feel it is essential that this Swedish distrust and fear of Russia should be stated as a fact of great importance in the weighing up of the European situation. It is quite certain that it is very deep, and that no promises or explanations, or descriptions, for example, of the Stalin outlook for Russia as national, in contrast to the world-revolutionary outlook of Trotsky, will cut any ice with the Swedes themselves. They do not in any way deny the Nazi atrocities, but they believe that we, in fact, deny, or refuse to see, what they told me the Russians have done.

The Bishop of Chichester concludes with some heartfelt and weighty words on the total European situation.

One thing was burned in on my mind—and that was the problem of Europe as a whole. When hostilities cease what then? Who is to take control and to prevent chaos and anarchy? It is the problem of the vacuum, or hiatus, between the armistice and peace. Supposing the Nazis are destroyed, and supposing the German army is rendered powerless (though this is not a necessary consequence of a revolt against the Nazis in Germany itself), how can

DEAR Comrades and Friends,— This will appear about the time when the appeal which we as your Treasurers have addressed to you should come before your Group meeting. Many may also see it who are unable to share the privilege of the Group meeting.

We ask you all to accept this plea as prompted less by the financial difficulties of the PPU, which are indeed serious, than by the conception of the duty which we owe to Dick Sheppard and his memory.

Nearly five years have passed since he left us. We solemnly resolved that Dick Sheppard House should be a sacred memorial to him. The appeal which he made should not languish, we determined, through any weakness or neglect of ours.

Yet we failed in our central resolve. Dick Sheppard House is not Dick Sheppard's. The Bank still possesses more than a half share in its ownership and, as is the way of banks, takes in interest and amortization £500 a year from the generous subscriptions which were intended for Dick's work.

This should not be. We probably prove ourselves less qualified to deal with the day-to-day financial difficulties of the PPU—and we must deal with these—as we continue to fulfil only part of our obligation to Dick's memory.

The AGM decided unanimously and enthusiastically that we must pay the debt of more than £4,000 still owing to the Bank. We are glad as Treasurers to share in the responsibility of carrying out that decision.

We ask each member to give or raise £1 and each Group to send us, in addition, £10 raised in some corporate way of its own devising. Please see that this is seriously considered in your Group during the course of this month. If you cannot attend a Group, kindly write to us for a subscription card.

The card carries our favourite photograph of Dick and a picture of the "Green Door." Half the card is to be detached by you and forwarded to Headquarters, after which it will be returned to you as the signed symbol of your own generous part in a great common effort by the PPU.

Two of the sponsors sent us £2 and £5 and Groups at Saffron Walden and Cardiff have sent £10 each. We have heard of similar action by others and expect many generous gifts shortly. A farmer in the West Country whose crops have done well sends us £10. Nearly 200 delegates at the AGM sent a first share and contributed 6s. each. And all this has happened before the scheme is really launched!

On October 31, the fifth anniversary of Dick's death, we shall hold a great gathering in London at which will be announced the results of your generosity and sacrifice. Let that announcement prove worthy of the memory of our beloved Dick.

JAMES H. HUDSON
ALFRED SALTER
(Joint Treasurers)

order be secured immediately in Germany on the one hand, and in the occupied countries on the other hand?...

My conviction of the Godlessness and terror of the Hitler regime is as strong as ever. But I have come home with a deepened sense of the gravity of the whole European crisis and the fateful character of these coming months. I have come home also with the conviction that it is in the end only through the conversion of Europe to the Christian faith, with all its implications, that the remedy can be found.

(The cross-heading and the bold type of the concluding phrase are ours.)

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Bread - And Milk

ALMOST one half of the 120 million population of Latin America, says an American journal, is suffering from diseases, not in themselves incurable, but unlikely to be cured, either for lack of medical care, or because the standard of life is so low that the "deficiency diseases" cannot be dealt with at all. Probably, the proportion of sufferers in Asia is higher still.

Such is the background against which we have to set the intolerable madness of the present war. Then we may see it in some sort of moral proportion; then we may begin to ask ourselves whether, in fact, this war is being fought for anything that is of consequence to humanity at large.

The idealistic Americans maintain that the Allied nations are fighting for the privilege of supplying every human being in the world with a pint of free milk every day.

But if there is anything substantial in this much advertised benevolence "after victory", is it not obvious that the best time to begin is now? There is no need to knock hell out of the Japs or the Germans as the indispensable preliminary to giving a thousand million underdogs a little more to eat and drink. Why not start the distribution now? Why not say this to the Germans and the Japanese: "The Allied Nations have a concern to feed the world. A continuance of the fighting makes that intended beneficence impossible. Therefore we propose an immediate armistice in order that the sanitary and welfare work may get going: Controlled Food Relief for all the world."

It is hardly sane that 1,000 ships should be built by the Americans and 999 of them sunk by the Germans in order that a single cargo of free food may be conveyed across the ocean: the one-thousandth part of what could be taken were the sinking called off. It cannot be that one cargo of food is victory and freedom, but a thousand are slavery. What evidence is there that the massed millions suffering from deficiency diseases prefer one pint of free milk in "victory and freedom" to a thousand in "peace and slavery"?

Moreover, by the time the victory and freedom have been achieved—at the rate we are going now—we ourselves shall be suffering from deficiency diseases. As Mr. Hudson says, we shall be very lucky if we don't get anything worse than rye in our bread after two more years of war. And we shall be luckier still if we don't get something worse than two more years of war. Five years is the lowest estimate of the time required for victory. By that time, we too shall have learned that a pint of victory-and-freedom milk is nothing like so sustaining or rickety-repelling as a thousand pints of peace-and-slavery milk. But what a lot it will have cost us to learn a lesson which—one would have thought—needs no learning at all.

True, man does not live by bread alone. (Though children manage pretty well on milk alone.) What man actually needs over and above bread—or bread and milk—is a matter for theological dispute. But we do not think it will be seriously maintained that what he needs is precisely that problematic dose of freedom which will be found lurking in British democracy at the end of five more years of total war.

MAGAZINE DIGEST for June 1939 quoted the following from Cavalade:

After analysing 902 wars and 1,615 internal disturbances, in the past 2,500 years, a Harvard professor has discovered that the nation with the most warlike record is SPAIN, which has been at war for over 67 per cent of her history.

Runners-up in the War Stakes are: ENGLAND, 56%, GREECE, 57%, FRANCE, 50%, RUSSIA, 46%, and ITALY, 36%. GERMANY, the nation of Aryan Warriors, comes last of the big European nations, having been at war during only 28% of its history.

Compromise Peace?

THE general (inspired?) verdict of the press is that, if the Germans get to Stalingrad, as they very well may, the war will be "prolonged by several years." That would seem to be a polite way of saying that the United Nations would then be for all practical purposes incapacitated from victory, and that, however much against the grain it may be on either side, it will be necessary to seek a compromise peace.

Certainly, the danger is obviously great that Russia may be so weakened as no longer to be an effective belligerent. Continued retreat—even supposing it proves possible to extricate the Russian forces substantially intact from the Don elbow—now means the surrender of territory quite vital to the waging of totalitarian war. Russia will have lost her richest food-producing, iron-producing, coal-producing, oil-producing areas. It is difficult to believe she can stand up against that.

Russia's Grain

BUT I forbear to prophesy. The Russian power of resistance has proved to be marvellous; and it may be that the miracle will repeat itself in circumstances which will make it the more miraculous. It is ominous, however, that on July 2 Pravda wrote: "This year a large area will have to be harvested by hand. Therefore it is important to have

scythes and sickles ready right now."

Still more ominous is the complaint that the necessary repairs to harvest machinery were seriously behindhand. Only about one tenth of these repairs had been accomplished in, for example, the Kuibyshev and Frunze regions, which belong to the "decisive" grain producing regions on the Volga. The expert judgment is that "a substantial deficit in this year's harvest seems unavoidable." Only the pre-war accumulations of grain for the event of war can save the food situation from deteriorating rapidly. How great those stocks are, how far they have been saved from capture by the Germans, and how far transport is available to distribute them—are unanswerable questions.

Second Front Cost

MEANWHILE it is rumoured that the Japanese are preparing to attack Russia. It is now said that the occupation in force of the Aleutian Islands by the Japanese is for the purpose of preventing the Americans from coming to the aid of Russia. Russian pressure in Washington for a second front has become desperate (E. News, July 17)

A singular message from Tokyo contains a Japanese criticism of the second front: "Invasion of the continent across the English Channel was a strategical impossibility. The only way left was to try to land troops in N. Norway or Murmansk. At least 1,500,000 troops would be required, to make an effective second front, and 15,000,000 tons of shipping to transport and supply them" (E. News, July 18). Since the total of shipping available to the United Nations is not much more than 20 million tons, the Japanese critic dismisses the idea as fantastic.

The New Statesman (July 18) tries to consider the whole problem soberly and concludes: "After weighing the difficulties, we affirm

CYRIL HUGHES on men who

Keep the Hate Fires Burning

It is high time that someone in the pages of Peace News lashed out in defence of Lord Vansittart.

Pacifists have, I regret to say, all too often suggested that the noble lord is lacking in Christian charity, and even in wisdom. And it is well known that—

Lord Vansittart
Will take it in very bad part
If you suggest that a diplomatic adviser
Ought to be wiser.

FROM the point of view of any war-supporter, Lord Vansittart and his fellow members of the Hate Harder Brigade are the truest patriots.

Hate is as necessary as falsehood to the successful prosecution of the war, whatever that may mean. You must have some substitute for a positive dynamic, for a consciousness of what you are fighting for.

And even in these perilous times there are some scoundrels about (such as Mr. P. G. Wodehouse) who have attempted to suggest that the Germans walk about on two legs and use knives and forks, whereas it is the whole aim of our propaganda to create the impression that they go on all fours and bite when stroked.

★

IN the case of Japan, hate is even more urgent. In the last war the Japs were on our side, and consequently nice people, although John Scanlon tells a story, in "Pillars of Cloud," of how the Allies, in order to bring the Japs in with us, showed them photographs of German atrocities in Belgium, and had the greatest difficulty in restraining them from going in on the German side.

But I find the 1929 edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica saying:

The Japanese are essentially a kindly-hearted, laughter-loving people... No nation is free from failings, and when due account has been taken of those of the Japanese, there still remains a people of remarkable energy and intelligence, of marvellous achievement, and of great attractiveness.

That sort of stuff will never do. How much more uplifting to national morale to read in one's newspaper: "Scratch a Jap and find an ape!" (assuming one can get near enough to scratch) and to be regaled with historical portraits of Japan, representing her as evolving, aggression by aggression, from a lesser to a greater degree of savagery!

One of the exciting peculiarities of war propaganda is that not only does the contemporary character of a nation change on its becoming your enemy, but its whole history automatically becomes different.

★

LORD VANSITTART'S good, honest, blood-and-thunder stuff is, too, surely preferable to the this-hurts-me-more-than-it-hurts-you attitude of those who wish to fight the war without soiling their souls.

C. E. M. Joad takes a gallant stand with the second type in a recent article in the New Statesman. Dealing with the "wicked bunk" of the army hate-training, he says:

War does not require, and Christianity forbids, that we should hate the victims of our bayonets and our bombs. Christianity has taught men, while hating the sin, to go easy with the sinner.

Christianity, unfortunately, does not admit of compromise. The average person would not regard a man skewering him with a bayonet, even a loving bayonet, as "going easy" with him. But perhaps a member of the Brains Trust has to be of sterner stuff.

★

THE supreme service the Vansittartites perform I have left to the last. They, above all others, are the ones who are keeping the war going until we are ready to fight it.

That public benefactor, Mr. Robb Wilton, has a music-hall sketch about the fire service, in which one of the rules makes the first fire-engine to arrive at an "incident" responsible for keeping the fire going until the rest of the brigade arrives.

That is our position in the war today. By 1943, or '44, or '45, or '46, we shall all have a brace of Tommy-guns and a pike apiece, and shall at last be able to fight the flames and confound our enemies.

Lord Vansittart will ensure that the flames are still burning furiously by constantly fanning them with "Black Record" and the Sunday Times.

By dividing the population into three portions, fire-fighters (soldiers), fire raisers (unsuccessful diplomats), and providers of fuel (politicians), the Government could probably solve the unemployment problem for all time.

But if they go too near the fire they may get scorched.

A Pacifist COMMENTARY Edited by OBSERVER

that on our will and capacity to carry out this enterprise the issue of the war may well depend. It means blood, tears, and sweat. It will cost many lives."

Congress Resolution

ON July 14, the All-India Congress Working Committee, meeting at Wardha, passed the long and long-awaited resolution demanding the withdrawal of British rule from India. Such withdrawal (it says, according to The Times) does not "mean the physical withdrawal of all Britons from India." It means simply the abdication of power, after which "responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a provisional government... which will later evolve a scheme whereby a constituent Assembly can be convened."

If the appeal fails, "Congress will then reluctantly be compelled to utilize all the non-violent strength it has gathered since 1920, when it adopted non-violence as part of its policy for the vindication of its political rights and liberties. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi."

India and Japan

THE press affects to make light of the situation; but undoubtedly it is a serious one for Britain. The Congress resolution declares that the result of the Cripps proposals, which "showed that the British hold on India was in no way to be relaxed" was "a rapid and widespread increase of ill will against Britain, and a growing satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms."

Perhaps that may be read in conjunction with a report (M. Guardian, July 20) that the Suner section of opinion in Spain now believes "that Japan has succeeded in doing what Germany failed to do—namely, in cultivating the good will of the occupied countries." Anyhow, throughout the Congress resolution there is a new note: that Japanese designs on India are not to be taken seriously, which fits with the recent opinion of a special correspondent of The Times that Japan did not intend to try to conquer and hold India as she intended to try to hold Malaya and the Dutch Indies.

Meaning of the War

UNDER the title, "The American Challenge, The Economist (July 18) emphasizes what it calls the "quite staggering" contrast between the cycle of speeches recently made by official American spokesmen on the problems of post-war reconstruction, and the complete silence of their opposite numbers in Britain. Certainly, the series of speeches from President Roosevelt's men in America is impressive. One can hardly be mistaken in supposing that they represent a sustained and deliberate effort to educate public opinion in USA, and probably in this country also, into a more enlightened view of the war and the peace than any that is popular.

Common to all these speeches is a view of the war, not as a thing in itself, but as the culmination of a continuous process whose roots lie far back in poverty, insecurity, malnutrition, and unemployment. Victory in this war is to be understood and pursued, according to the thesis of these speeches, as a means of getting into position to exorcise "the economic evils which breed poverty and war."

(Continued on page 3)

WILFRED WELLOCK

(Continued from page 1)

1922 Committee, the new coal arrangement and the post-war guarantees to the shippers augment fears of a repetition of 1919. Of such a repetition, in the circumstances envisaged by the FBI with the military domination of the world by the United Nations, the Atlantic Charter and later official pronouncements of Britain and the USA are a timely warning.

On to—Communism!

Only a minority remember all these details, but the spirit of them is rampant throughout "After the war there is going to be a commercial battle for the markets of the world." And Lord Derby's political influence is well known.

The political influence of the Tory industry and in the entire conduct of the war. No change of spirit having occurred, the people know by a sure instinct that there will be no new world after the fighting. But the pitchforking of people out of their old lives, their homes, and their habits has started a ferment of thought which, in the circumstances is stimulating a belief in revolution as the only hope of salvation from the thralldom of money-power.

So that the British people looking to, shall we say, 1944 or 1945—like the German people to 1933—are preparing themselves not for the saving or restoration of democracy, but for its overthrow in favour of a Communist dictatorship.

The average worker believes that the Essential Works Order is a new form of slavery that will be extended into the peace. Factory workers and Service men alike believe that privilege is usurping the power which belongs to brains, skill, idealism, and selflessness, and is letting down this nation on the industrial and the military fronts alike.

These are the outstanding tendencies of our time, and mark the second phase of a war which began in order to save democracy and destroy Nazism.

Will there be a third phase, arising from the social awakening of the Right? There might be, if Bishops and others, including people like Sir Stafford Cripps, would give up expressing their faith in the good will of the nation, and instead declare in explicit terms the nature of the sacrifices for which the times call.

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

The Area Representative

By DONALD PORT

Last week in this column the purpose of Development was explained and the four immediate objectives outlined.

IT will be remembered that when the Development Plan was launched, Area conferences were held all over the country at which committees were formed and officers appointed to take responsibility for local organizing work. These conferences did much to throw in focus the work of the Area Representative as the link in policy matters between the membership and Council.

Indeed it is desirable that we should always avoid the pitfall of thinking of our organization as a thing apart, an end in itself. We should fully realize that it consists merely of the planning which is necessary to secure that each of our members has an opportunity of sharing in the work of the movement as a whole.

REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED

At the first AGM, when we decided to have an elected National Council, it was felt necessary that in addition to the well-known figures who were appointed to direct the affairs of the movement, there should be some members sitting on Council as representatives of the Areas. Accordingly, the country was divided into seventeen areas from each of which a representative has been regularly elected.

Now it is the purpose of these Area Representatives to keep the membership in touch with the policy affairs of the movement by reporting and

DEVELOPMENT

THE Development Committee has decided to recommend the National Council to appoint a Secretary to the Development Committee, in the place of a National Development Officer, at a salary of £4 10s. per week plus travelling expenses. His work would be under the general direction of the General Secretary and he would be expected to carry out the policy of the Development Committee as defined in the original statement and definition of Development. This would entail his spending such time in the office as the work of co-ordination would involve, but it is intended that he should spend most of his time out in the Areas helping the Area Committees in such ways as the particular local circumstances might demand.

APPLICATIONS for the post (from either sex) should be sent in to the General Secretary (marked "Development Committee") at Dick Sheppard House by August 10, and any further information can be obtained on request to the General Secretary. It must be clearly understood by applicants that the appointment is subject to the approval of the whole scheme by National Council at their meeting on August 22/23 as well as the approval of the particular candidate selected by the Development Committee for recommendation to National Council.

The column which the Development Committee has, since the beginning of their work, asked the National Development Officer to write each week has now been taken over by the Executive Committee, who will invite different committees to make use of it for the purpose of emphasizing particular aspects of PPU activities.

discussing Council decisions through the Area and in turn taking the criticisms and suggestions to Council.

This in essence is the simple democratic procedure of the movement. Policy matters are discussed in Group, Region, and Area meetings. The Area Representative hears the views of the members; it is his job to attempt to report these views to Council and to explain the decisions to the membership.

NO HIDEBOUND FORMALISM

There is here no suggestion of a formalistic democracy nor a counting of heads; no suggestion that the Representative should be tied to a carefully worded motion; only a desire that the Council should more

AGRICULTURE

Mechanization or Modernization?

A recent article on the modernization of British agriculture raises equally urgent issues. Modernization there must be; but the peculiar concern of pacifists is that farming should cease to be the lick-spittle of the old order and become the linchpin of the new.

FARMERS as such are concerned primarily with their own security measured in terms of profit. So, as long as the nation chases the ghosts of export markets, industry may be expected to maintain agriculture's wartime prosperity by payments from the taxpayer's purse; the condition being that the farmers' organizations agree to restrict production to limits determined, broadly, by the Federation of British Industries and "the City."

It is noteworthy that at the Empire Producers' Conference in Sydney in 1938, Dominion farmers—whose interests correspond with those of our manufacturers—were insistent that the British farmers' share in the British market must be defined and limited.

That limitation was accepted by the representatives of British agriculture, the financiers, the industrialists—and by the Conservative Party.

NO doubt the liquidation of our export trade and of our overseas investments will ultimately enforce maximum food-production here, but still, we have to envisage farming interests acting in harmony with economic demands.

When the traditional national economy is abandoned, agriculture, in all probability, will co-operate with industry to maintain the socio-capitalist state.

An informed minority now questions the practicability of any policy of agricultural restriction.

Thus, Sir Daniel Hall advocates land nationalization, and the merging of farms into units extensive enough to enjoy the economies of mechanization and of large-scale production.

By whole-hearted industrialization, British agriculture is to be made to "pay," that is, to exist as an economic unit within a society based upon economic values.

AGRICULTURE so organized could achieve much.

It could increase food-production without necessarily impoverishing the soil.

It could reward farmers and farm-workers more adequately than in the past.

It could provide a hierarchy of jobs similar to that provided by the great industries of coal and cotton. According to one authority, it could extend the life of the present system by one hundred years.

But the present system itself just doesn't touch the real problem. At this point therefore, let us make a distinction between mechanization and modernization—even if we have to give the latter term a meaning of our own.

Mechanization of farming is the maximum use of machinery and power; from which, it is assumed, all blessings flow; a glimpse of modern industrial society answers that assumption. Modernization, on the other hand is (or should be) a cultural term; it may involve mechanization, but the machine is subordinate and welcomed insofar as it results in intrinsically better living.

THE need is not to oppose mechanization as such, but to surpass the ethos of economic society which measures the machine as it measures man—in terms of profit instead of in terms of life-fulfilment. Nor does it make any essential difference if, as in a socialist society, the profit is shared by all.

Unfortunately it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for modern society to surpass its economic conception: even the supreme non-economic enterprise of war has to be interpreted in terms of building a society of greater economic security.

The only non-economic society dedicated to peace is the pacifist communities, although most of these are too small in membership to be real societies in miniature, and too under-capitalized to demonstrate the correct use of machinery.

But by subordinating the economic motive, without accepting the escape by way of war, they at least come to grips with the problem of formulating a non-economic concept for society at large.

Only such a society can restrain machine power from usurping the place of its masters and only in such a society can a hierarchy of work-values suitable for a machine-age be worked out.

Such a development is indispensable if the modern insanity of mass-escape from living is to be overcome.

I submit that the problems of an agricultural revival lie in this dimension.

H. P. FOWLER

Post War Paradise

To the Editor of Peace News

In reply to R. P. Northcott, I can only say that the world I live in is the one where the population is being urged to exterminate each other. The one I would like to live in is the one visualized by Mr. Northcott. But the one I fear I must live in when the slaughter is over will be ruled by precisely the same mentality as is now doing its best to ruin this world.

I agree with all Mr. Northcott's points on production. But I am not certain that 50,000,000 in Britain producing every conceivable kind of gadget is necessarily an unmixed blessing. Even in the new order visualized by Mr. Northcott people will require food, clothes, and shelter, and Britain produces everything in abundance except these.

True, we might exchange our mass-produced manufactures for wool, wheat, leather, timber, etc. But why should any country take our mass-produced goods? British and American money has enabled them to mass-produce their own gadgets. They even send them here. I never said that that was an economic law. Still less did I use the existing system to justify a war. On the contrary, I think the system caused the war.

JOHN SCANLON

adequately reflect the views of the members and, in doing so, should take decisions which will be widely implemented.

If you are in doubt that your group is taking a fair share in the work of the movement, ask yourself, how far you have taken part in the recent National Council decisions on Food Relief, Vansittartism, Registration of Youth, General Policy, and Area Development.

What arrangements have you made to see that the subject of invasion and an armistice are discussed in time for your Area Representative to voice your criticisms and suggestions at the August Council?

If you are satisfied that your group has adequately expressed an opinion on some or all of these issues, examine what steps you have taken to implement the decisions reached. Have you expressed approval or disapproval of the Council decisions? If disapproval, have you explained the attitude of your group to your Area Representative?

Only with a maximum contact between Council and the membership can we really achieve that measure of democracy which is indispensable to our purpose in society. It is the purpose of the Area Representative to further that contact.

Next week: The Work of the Area Committee, by Frank Dawtry.

Letters to the Editor

The Editor to Correspondents:—
Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Portugal's "Peace"

IT surprises me to see Peace News devoting more than a column to reproducing an extract from a speech by Dr. Salazar, the Portuguese Premier, under the sub-title "From one of the 'islets where there is no hate'".

For Salazar to talk of his country as an "islet where there is no hate" is, to say the very least, a travesty of the truth. Portugal has not become a scene of hostilities, nor has she been compelled (so far) to take a definite side in the inter-imperialist conflict, for diplomatic and political reasons well understood in London and Berlin. And, internally, there is "peace" because all opposition to Carmona, and Salazar has been suppressed with truly fascist thoroughness. The electoral lists include only those who have joined the party of "National Union," the electorate in 1934 numbering no more than ten per cent. of the population. Revolts which have taken place against the dictatorship in the Azores, Madeira, the Cape Verde Islands, Guinea, St. Thomas and Prince's Islands, and Angola have been suppressed ruthlessly; numerous arrests of opponents of the regime have taken place in the last ten years; and there is a rigid press censorship. Salazar's last contribution to keeping alive "the feeling of human goodness" was his support for the Spanish non-intervention agreement, while, afterwards, conniving at grave breaches of it in Franco's favour.

As for the Portuguese attitude to pacifism and social democracy, this was summed up in the semi-official O Seculo, which carried scathing editorials on the "degeneracy of pacifist social democracy" at the time of the invasion of Denmark and Norway.

CONAN NICHOLAS

33 Clarendon Square, Leamington Spa.

"Subservience to Vichy"

I am sorry that Mr. Pattison resents the reference in the new food relief leaflets to French North Africa as "subservient to Vichy." Is this not rather squeamish? French North Africa is "subservient" to the metropolitan Government in the sense in which every colony is. In this case the Government is referred to as "Vichy" in contradistinction to de Gaulle, to which other French colonies are subservient.

If Mr. Pattison will compare the length of the phrase used with his proposed alternative—"owning" adherence to the present French Government—he will see one cogent reason in the current newsprint famine for preferring the former. In fact, Vichy rules only unoccupied France, so that his amendment would need further amending—and expanding.

It is true that Peace News has been at pains to "appreciate the difficulties of Petain and Laval," but this leaflet will reach many who are unaware of this. To them "Vichy" is more precise than "the present French Government." What emotional connotation they add is another matter.

HOWARD WHITTEN

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

Continued from page 2

Private Co-operation?

WHAT we want (said Mr. Winant) is not complicated. "We have enough technical knowledge and organizing ability to respond to this awakening of social conscience... When war is done, the drive for tanks must become a drive for houses. The drive for food to prevent the enemy from starving us must become a drive for food to satisfy the needs of all people in all countries..."

What does Mr. Winant mean by "complicated"? There is nothing complicated about loving my neighbour as myself; nevertheless it is a very difficult thing to do. And even if the second item on the new agenda does not quite involve loving our neighbour nations as ourselves, it comes near enough to it to be pretty revolutionary. But precisely this is not admitted by the American Administration. On the contrary, the assumption is that because "mass consumption great enough to use mass production" is a simple conception, it is an easy thing to achieve by familiar methods. The instrument by which the new co-operative world order is to be achieved "will be industrial capitalism operating, broadly speaking, under conditions of private enterprise" (The Economist, July 18). I would like to know how it will be done.

Feeling in U.S.A.

OSWALD Garrison Villard, former editor of the New York Nation, writes in The Friend, July 17: "An unhappy matter I must report is the alarming growth of anti-British feeling. It is in large measure due to Churchill's greatest political blunder—his broadcast in which he rejoiced over America's entry into the war, for which he said he had hoped, prayed, and worked from the beginning. That was dynamite placed in the hands of all the anti-British elements. This hostile feeling, sadly enough, runs parallel to a tremendous increase in anti-Semitism—a campaign waged under cover but distinctly gaining ground."

On the other hand, Dr. Van Kirk, secretary of the Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the American Federal Council of the Churches, "would hardly say that there was growing anti-British feeling in the States, though Mr. Churchill's speech had had a most deplorable effect."

If Mr. Villard's account is correct, there is something suggestive in the simultaneous and parallel development of anti-British and anti-Semitic feeling in USA.

Churches' Attitude

MR. Villard and Dr. Van Kirk are in disagreement on another point. Mr. Villard thinks that, if there were an election

today it would go against Roosevelt. Dr. Van Kirk thinks not. Other matters of interest in the two reports are:

(1) Mr. Villard: "Our shipyards are doing wonders. It is quite possible that we shall be turning out three ships every 24 hours by next Fall. At present, however, we are losing from three to five ships a day." (2) Dr. Van Kirk: "The Churches have approved in principle Mr. Hoover's plans for feeding starving Europe but the ex-President's identification with one political party has prevented an endorsement." (3) Both: "The forced removal and herding into concentration camps of 75,000 Japanese-born American citizens in California and Oregon is the worst thing the Government has done since the war began. It is a plain violation of the American constitution. And the Churches are very 'uneasy.'"

The Churches in USA are like the Churches in Great Britain. They always confine themselves to being "very uneasy" over any flagrant injustice committed by the State.

The Sunk Food Ship

IT is bad news that one of the Swedish ships—the Stureborg—employed by the International Red Cross for Greek food relief, was sunk "by a bomber" near Cyprus on its way from the Piraeus to Haifa. "By a bomber" was the phrase in the original AP report from Stockholm (Mail, July 17). By the evening, for the BBC, the bomber had become "Axis aircraft," on the ground that "no Allied aircraft were in the vicinity."

The evidence is obviously insufficient; and we shall do well to keep an open mind as to who sank the food-ship. It is hard to believe that no British aircraft were in the vicinity of Cyprus. If not, why not? Another interesting feature in the incident is that the Stureborg was in charter to Britain, previous to being chartered by the International Red Cross.

Dick - "Official"

I HAVE been reading the "official" life of Dick Sheppard by Mr. Ellis Roberts (John Murray: 15s.). For an "official" life it is singularly outspoken; and I fear it may cause considerable pain. I am glad to say that it will be reviewed for Peace News by Charles Raven. That is something to look forward to.

The editor of this paper gets a good mark in the book. His address at the PPU camp at Swanwick in 1937 was said by Dick to have been "the best speech he had ever heard." It is easy to test Dick's judgment: for the speech was printed as a PPU pamphlet, "God or the Nation?", and is still to be had for 3d.

"Cat and Mouse" Treatment of C.O.s

WATCHING the CAT!

A NUMBER of MPs, Churchmen, and other influential persons are known to be interested in the Ministry of Labour's policy of re-prosecuting COs who, having refused medical examination, have already been prosecuted under the National Service act, 1941. Some are making approaches to the Ministry independently of the Central Board's request for a deputation (to which no reply has yet been received).

In the meantime, Richard W. Hindmoor, of Carlisle, was prosecuted at Carlisle on July 10 and 13 for failing to submit to medical examination.

At the hearing it was stated that Richard Hindmoor had been registered by the Appellate Tribunal for non-combatant duties, and had already served two months' imprisonment for refusing to be examined. The prosecuting solicitor said the case could only be described as one of "deliberate defiance."

Richard Hindmoor was sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

Harry A. Rawnsley, of Guiseley, a member of the PPU and MPF, and who worked for a considerable time with IVSP on the Hawkshead Scheme, was sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment in the second division at Bradford on July 10.

DIRECTED TO EMPLOYMENT

At Marylebone Police Court on July 16, Alfred P. Hughes (47), Ewart C. Chitty (43), and Frank G. Platt (44), all of 34, Craven Terrace, W.2, were prosecuted for failing to comply with a direction of the Ministry of Labour under Defence Regulation 58A. For 22 years these men had been full-time officers of the headquarters staff in Britain of Jehovah's Witnesses.

In the last war Frank Platt, who was one of the COs taken to France, had been sentenced to three years' and one year's imprisonment. Alfred Hughes had also served eighteen months' imprisonment in the last war.

The Stipendiary, Mr. Ivan Snell, sentenced each of the defendants to two months' imprisonment.

A sentence of three months' imprisonment was passed on July 15 on Ernest Ranger at the Mansion House, London, for failing to do firewatching duties at his place of employment. Ranger, who served several sentences of imprisonment as a pacifist during the last war, has been a regular attendee at the Ilford Group of the PPU.

Erith civil defence rescue workers have refused to go to lectures because one of their members is a conscientious objector. They have been warned that if they still refuse they will be liable to prosecution, stated the Star, July 8.

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Enfield.—H. Watkinson, 37 Gordon Hill, Enfield.

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on MONDAY, JULY 27th at 6.30 p.m.

Collection for the Hungerford Club,
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Food Relief Campaign

TURN OUT TOMORROW!

THE Demonstration organized by the Food Relief Campaign Committee of the PPU takes place in Trafalgar Square tomorrow (Sat.) at 6 p.m.

In addition to a representative platform, it is hoped that many Londoners will see the three poster parades converging on Central London before the meeting begins.

Mr. Dingle Foot told the Commons on July 15 that the long-delayed regular monthly shipments of 15,000 tons of wheat to Greece is now beginning to come into effect. The first three ships involved had left Swedish waters for Canada, whence they are taking the wheat direct to Greece.

The proposed shipment of 1,000 tons to the Aegean Islands, however, still hangs fire, but on the day after Mr. Foot's statement the M. Guardian Istanbul correspondent reported on relief, amounting to 620 tons of figs, raisins, beans, plums, olives, fish, and flour, distributed by the International Red Cross to the Greek islands, which has temporarily stemmed the exodus of starving islanders to the Turkish mainland.

RELIEF FOR POLAND?

Meanwhile, it appears that some relief for the Poles is being officially canvassed. According to the Daily Sketch (July 8) Lord Selborne is considering certain suggestions put forward by "a delegation of Poles seeking help in alleviating the food situation in the starving ghettos of Poland."

The New Statesman is a new recruit to the supporters of food relief. An editorial note (July 18) asserts that "the usual arguments are not valid against the present proposals" for marginal relief to countries "which always depended on imports to feed their people."

"Should we not offer to send in vitamins for children, and condensed milk for babies and pregnant and nursing mothers? They would scarcely tempt the Germans, and they might stave off the deficiency diseases for a part of the people at least," the writer concludes.

P.P.U. STATEMENT

The following statement was passed by the Executive Committee of the PPU on July 14:—

THE Food Relief Campaign was launched nine months ago by a unanimous resolution of National Council. Three months later fresh problems arose with the entry of the United States into the war. After careful deliberation, Council was then satisfied that the resulting obstacles were not insurmountable, and a call was made for "redoubled efforts." In March an appeal signed by Vera Brittain, John Middleton Murry, the Chairman, and General Secretary asked members to give as much time and work to the campaign as they conscientiously could.

The determination to pursue the campaign has been amply justified by events. The British Government has made concessions to Greece which were regarded as impossible last year, and "have declared their willingness to authorize monthly shipments of 15,000 tons of wheat or flour from Canada to Greece, under the Swedish scheme" (Hansard, May 19, 1942). We have reason to know that our efforts have played some part in securing these measures of relief and that a continued campaign would materially assist further efforts to secure the marginal relief for Belgium and Poland which is believed to be under consideration by the British Government.

Despite the pressure of the war situation, we believe that these further measures of relief are practicable objectives calling for our strenuous endeavours, in which we may properly hope to enlist the co-operation of men of good will who are not pacifists.

The National Executive therefore approves the vigorous prosecution of the campaign to this end as one of the major activities of the Union, and as a demonstration of our deep concern for the starving people of Europe in their ordeal.

—names—

ETHEL MANNIN, REGINALD REYNOLDS, ALEX COMFORT, RANJEE J. SHABANI, DR. A. D. BELDEN, D. S. SAVAGE

and others in the Summer issue of
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Cash MUST accompany copy

LAND & COMMUNITY

HOUSEKEEPER wanted small dairy-farm, Devon. Experienced or keen and adaptable worker. War-time farmer. Box 385 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED, temporary help in market garden community; work on land; subsistence allowance. Either sex. Box 379 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

MEETINGS, &c.

GUILDFORD. Dr. Alex Wood will speak on Controlled Food Relief at Congregational Hall, North St., Fri., July 31, 7.30 p.m. Chairman, The Mayor of Guildford.

HOLY CROSS, Cromer St., St. Pancras, Sun. July 26, 11 Rev. P. L. D. Chamier; 6.30 Rev. R. H. Le Messurier.

THE PROBLEM OF JAPAN—Leslie Johns. At 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1, on Wed., July 29, 7.30 p.m. Admission free; collection. London Area PPU.

PERSONAL

WATFORD, Friends Meeting House, Derby Rd., Wed., July 29, at 7.30 p.m. Muriel Lester on "India: The Present Problem." West Herts PPU Region.

LADY (34) desires purposeful life, daughter (10), furniture etc.; country, Wales or South-West. Any suggestions? Box 384 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST COUPLE expecting child offer home and board in small charming cottage, Chilterns, modern conveniences, return for domestic help. Box 383 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

THE ENGAGEMENT is announced between Frank Maitland, N.E. Area Representative, and Audrey Jupp, S.E. Area Representative, National Council.

SITUATIONS VACANT

DEVELOPMENT. (See col. 1, p.3.)

EDUCATED HELP (or housekeeper-companion) for elderly couple, North-east coast. Cooking and living-in essential. Other help available. Box 390 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EVENINGS or weekends. Young woman to classify bookseller's secondhand stock and listing. (Central London). Box 377 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EXEMPT C.O. Dental mechanic or qualified assistant able to do plastics and metal work required for busy Northern town practice. Write stating age, years of experience, wage required etc. Urgent. Box 380 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LOVER of small children to teach deaf boy of 2 years required in school community. Opportunity to share in all aspects of community life. Specialist training desirable, not essential. Lawley, Sherwood School, Epsom.

MEN wanted for timber felling and hauling. Previous experience not essential if willing to learn; constant work and good regular wages paid to strong active men. Give details of previous experience. A number of pacifists already employed. J. P. Williams, Timber Merchant, Gobowen, Salop.

"Vote For Figgis" says Soldier

PRIVATE Alfred Norris, who had intended to contest the South Poplar by-election as a Worker-Soldiers' candidate, withdrew his candidature at one of Mr. Figgis's public meetings last week. On 48-hours' leave, Norris visited Mr. Figgis, conferred with him, and decided to contest elsewhere.

At the meeting he said: "I call upon you to send realism into Westminster. Send some common sense at least. Vote for Rev. Patrick Figgis." His speech was greeted with loud applause.

The preliminary election work continues steadily. Poster-parades to advertise meetings are being arranged for this week.

"Nottingham Friend" is thanked for a donation of £1. Finance last week however, was a little disappointing. The deposit money is not yet assured.

**BRITAIN'S ALLIES
are STARVING!
SEND FOOD RELIEF NOW
DEMONSTRATION
TRAFALGAR SQUARE
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Organised by
THE FOOD RELIEF CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE,
(PPU), 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

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Printing Co., (T.U.), London N.16.

SITUATIONS VACANT (Cont.)

SINGLE MEN required on small Cornish farm; partnership considered; state experience. Box 389 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

URGENTLY required for laundry work etc., country hostel (Gloucestershire) for refugee children, young woman with genuine desire for service. Congenial fellow workers. Apply International Commission for War Refugees 67 Brook St., London W.1.

WANTED, Cook and Parlourmaid or man, small school community of 60, country district, Yorkshire. Educated staff. Man and wife or friends. Dunnow Hall, Newton, via Clitheroe, Lancs.

WANTED in Children's Hostel, cook; also kitchen assistant. Apply, stating wages required, to Superintendent, Bourton Grange, Flax Bourton, nr. Bristol.

WANTED in September, experienced threshing machine operator or skilled tractor ploughman prepared to learn and take responsibility; good wages and bonus. Also mate to work under operator. Experience advantageous but not essential. C.O. employers, Leicestershire. Box 376 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG PEOPLE'S Hostel requires experienced housekeeper or vegetarian cook. Live in or out. Particulars to Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., London N.W.1.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

C.O. unfit land work, requires post assistant cook or similar in agricultural hostel. Box 382 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. 20, EXEMPT, desires any post connected with theatrical or musical profession anywhere. Box 381 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (24), single, seeks land work, market gardening, or agriculture, Home Counties. No previous experience; keen amateur gardener. Box 375 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

YOUNG COUPLE, 27-34, desire post about Sept. Wife farmer's daughter, domesticated, fairly experienced in bee-keeping, poultry, vegetable production, etc. London area or adjacent counties; plain accommodation essential. Box 388 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts.—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

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MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London), Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents write Bragg, Merville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.

SHORT-TERM volunteers required for harvesting in Worcestershire, July-Oct. Apply Secretary, International Voluntary Service for Peace, 1 Lyndon Ter., Leeds 2.

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